/139 cont./

372 are made in one of the sticks, and the rounded end of the other stick fits into them. [Figs. 1, 2, and 3 appear here.]

The first stick is placed on the ground and held down with both feet. The other stick is placed with its round end in one of the hollows, and it is twirled as rapidly as possible between the flat palms of the hands. As can be seen in the picture Photo. 19), the hands slide downward during this process, and frequently a second man immediately starts at the top when the hands of the first operator have moved all the way down. A kind of tinder of thoroughly dried birds' nests (weaver bird?) is placed around the bored hole. The fine dust from the twirling begins to smoulder after a few minutes, and the tinder is then fanned to a flame by blowing with the mouth.

[622] The "captain" (aichab) of the settlement sees to it that the fire does not go out. A "sacred" fire does not exist. Keeping the fire from going out is a matter of sheer practicality since twirling to make fire is, after all, fairly strenuous.

354 A few stones, which, incidentally, are not found everywhere in the Kalahari, represent the hearth. In rainy weather cooking is done inside the windscreen.

462 The woman does the cooking while the children help her. In exceptional cases the paterfamilias may busy himself at the cooking fire.

On occasion all the members of a family will go out to get water and wood. Construction of the house is purely woman's work. Bachelors' huts are likewise built by the women of the horde.

415 Wooden cooking pots exist. Supposedly they are obtained
439 through barter from the Ambo.

The Auin either carves primitive spoons out of wood himself,
322 or he obtains them through barter from the region of the Ngami
415 [439] [Lake Ngami?]. Frequently special artists at carving are to be found among the older men. The upper, concave part of a
415 small turtle shell, whose lower, flat side has been cut off, often
[321] serves as a spoon.

These shells are also used as drinking vessels, and, along with hollowed-out tschama, they are the only drinking vessels that I found.

[36 cont.]
291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the
293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire
291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re-
[123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having
[124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in
[412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess
[325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in
[439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that,
[531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead em-
301 broidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich
[321] egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are
[556] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence
[462] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are
[306] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of
[302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

281 skins with Bakalahari people for tobacco when we had gone and when the tobacco we had given him had all been used. We asked how much he would get and he measured an imaginary pile in the palm of his hand—not much for four or five days' work, although the skins of Delalandes foxes are quite small.

136 There were Delalandes foxes living not far from Ai a ha'o, a colony of them, for they always live together. I saw them often and they were charming creatures, fuzzy with huge ears and black stockings. I have always admired them, for although they have no defenses, can neither run fast nor fight, they are not afraid to go mousing far from their burrows. Then, when they are surprised by a menace, they have to run home, and they start off all together and run and run, humping on and on at an even pace, neither speeding nor slacking, until long after you first saw them they disappear into their holes. They are humble creatures, but persistent and brave. One member of our expedition hunted them for months with rifle and shotgun, trying to get a specimen for a museum in the United States, but I am glad to say he never succeeded. Ukwane caught them, though, the easy way. He set five snares for them at five mouse-runs in the grass; five foxes strangled in the snares, and Ukwane came around the following day to gather them up.

123 We filmed Ukwane working the skins. Then we found the 825 shoulder blade of the gemsbok we had shot weeks ago still 321 lying in the werf and we asked Gai to make an arrowhead out 411 of it so we could film that, too. It was the right kind of bone, the kind that Bushmen use. The small antelope and even some of the larger ones, such as springbok and wildebeest, have bones which are too fragile to penetrate another antelope's heavy hide. Gai agreed to make the arrow; he broke off the scapular spine and pushed it into a fresh tsama melon to

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GIKwe

let it soak. When it was moist all the way through he called to us and we then filmed him making the arrow.

We took a long time setting up the cameras, reading light meters, focusing the lenses, and finally took a picture with the still camera. To our astonishment, when the shutter clicked Gai let out a great huff of breath. One of the interpreters must have told him at some time to be absolutely still, and he had begun holding his breath when he had first seen the camera. We thanked him and told him he need never do it again, but we laughed and he was embarrassed.

Always, Bushmen were wonderful people to film. They were totally unselfconscious, never looked at the camera, and, furthermore, had infinite patience. They would stop what they were doing, wait, start again and repeat what they had done before, making each repeated action seem miraculously as if it were being done for the first time. But on this occasion Gai got bored. He had a quiverful of arrows anyway, and while he waited for us to load the camera the arrow he was working got brittle and dry. When this happened he had to suck it until it was moist again, then whittle some more.

He made the foreshaft of the arrow first, chopping with his knife to hack the rough shape of it, pausing occasionally to hone the knife blade on the tough sole of his foot, then cocking his head and squinting down the blade to see the edge. He then carefully whittled the head, leaving a tiny spine up the middle for strength but shaving the edges so thin that you could see light through them. As he worked, though, he yawned and sighed with boredom and now and then he would pause to sing a nonsense song, "bibibi di bo," by flapping his lower lip with his finger.

When the arrowhead was finished he fitted it into a reed shaft exactly the right size and bound it in place with a bit of fine sinew which he had also sucked to moisten. Then he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung
GiKwe

turned the arrow over and over, sighting down its length to see if it was straight. It was.

Gai then surprised us somewhat by taking from his hunting-bag twelve round nut-like tiny shells which we recognized as the cocoons or pupa cases of the poison grubs, the source of poison for the Bushmen's deadly little arrows. Gai said he would poison his arrow, a process which he seemed to find more interesting than making it, and we said we would be very glad to see. We wondered where he had got the grubs, for he and Ukwane had both told us that there were no poison grubs anywhere near Ai a ha'o, and he said he had received them from the people whom we had met in the Okwa Omaramba, as they had plenty there.

We regretted very much that we had never seen a tree or shrub that houses the poison grubs of the Gikwe, and that we had never been able to catch one of the adults of the beetle that in its pupa stage is poisonous. Gai said that his grubs came from between the roots of a bush, called in Gikwe simply a poison bush. We do not know if the grubs are the same as the grubs used by Kung Bushmen, which live among the roots of a tree, called by the Kung a poison tree, called by us marula kaffra. The grubs of the Kung are from the beetle *diamphidia simplex*, which lays its eggs on the leaves of the tree. Once, all in one afternoon at a single tree of Kung Bushmen, I was shown by a young hunter the yellow eggs on a leaf, the young larvae just hatched, which the hunter said crawl down the tree under the bark to pupate in the earth among the roots, and the pupae of this beetle.

It has always amazed me that the Bushmen ever discovered these beetles, which are only one species among thousands in South Africa, and which the Bushmen say are poisonous only in their pupa stage. The pupae themselves are

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

of the hunting party is not a matter of convention or of anxious concern. Hunting parties are freely organized by men who like to hunt with each other. No categories of kin or affines are prohibited from hunting together, whether they have a joking relationship or not or practise the sitting and speaking taboo. Men from different bands may hunt together.

A father has authority over his sons and sons-in-law and could tell them to go hunting or to accompany him and would expect them to obey. In other relationships participation in a hunting party is voluntary. Any man may instigate a hunt and may ask others to join. No one is formally in command of a party, unless he is the father with his sons or sons-in-law, but often an informal kind of leadership develops out of skill and judgement and the men fall in with the plans and suggestions of the best hunter or reach agreement among themselves somehow.

Hunting parties are usually composed of from two to four or five men. One hunter alone is at a disadvantage. A man cannot leave the meat unguarded from lions, hyaenas, jackals, and vultures while he goes to bring help from the band to carry it nor can he carry it alone. Only occasionally are parties larger than four or five. For two parties to hunt in different directions would be more advantageous than to form a larger single party.

When the kill is made the hunters have the prerogative of eating the liver on the spot and may eat more of the meat until their hunger is satisfied. If they are far from the band, they may eat the parts that are especially perishable or most awkward to carry, like the head, and they sometimes eat the cherished marrow. They then carry the animal to the band, either in its parts, bones and all, or, if the animal is very big, leaving most of the bones and cutting the meat into strips which dry in the sun to biltong and are more easily carried on the carrying-sticks. The blood is carried in bags made of the stomach, rumen, and bladder.

The gall bladder and testicles are discarded at the kill. Eventually the hooves are thrown away and usually the picked bones and horns. (The /Kung make only a few artifacts of bone and horn which last a long time and seldom need replacing.) Sinews are kept for making cord. The hide would be skinned off whole and tanned if it were suitable for a kaross and someone wanted a new kaross at the time. Otherwise, the hide is dried, pounded up, and eaten. Hides are quite tasty. Feet are picked of every tissue; gristle is dried and pounded. Soft parts, such as the foetus, udder, heart, lungs, brains, and blood, are often given to old people with poor teeth. Intestines are enjoyed and desired by all. The meat of the rump, back, chest, and neck is highly appreciated. Nothing is wasted; all is distributed.

The owner of the animal is the owner of the first arrow to be effectively shot into the animal so that it penetrates enough for its poison to work. That person is responsible for the distribution. The headman of the band is not the one to distribute the meat by virtue of his headmanship, unless he happens to be at the same time the owner of the arrow. The owner may or may not be one of the hunters.

Hunters have arrows which they acquire in three different ways. Each man makes arrows for himself, shaping the points (usually now of metal, but still possibly of bone or wood) with some slight distinction so that he will know them from the arrows of other men. Secondly, arrows are given as gifts. The man who made the arrow or who himself acquired it as a gift, may give it to someone else, either a man or a woman, consanguineous kin, affine, or friend.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

The /Kung stole nothing from us. Even when we went away on trips, leaving several bands of /Kung settled around our camp site, we left our supplies and equipment unlocked in the open or in our tents with confidence that nothing would be stolen. Things that we lost or forgot in the veld were returned to us, even two cigarettes in a crumpled package.

Stealing without being discovered is practically impossible in /Kung life because the /Kung know everybody's footprints and every object. Respect for ownership is strong. But, apart from that, /Ti/kay said, 'Stealing would cause nothing but trouble. It might cause fighting.'

Conclusion

During seventeen and a half months when I lived with the Nyae Nyae /Kung at Gautscha (with Bands 1 and 2 and many visitors—usually about sixty to seventy-five persons), I personally saw four flare-ups of discord and heard of three others which occurred in neighbouring bands during that period. All were resolved before they became serious quarrels. Of the seven, four were flare-ups of sexual jealousy. One was 'the talk' about Khuan/a's gift. Two were very minor disagreements about going somewhere, when Gao Beard's frustrated young wife hit him on the head with her digging-stick and when /Ti/kay gave his brother a shove for refusing to accompany him. None were about food. We considered, judging from that sample, that the /Kung managed very well to keep tensions from turning into hostility, to avoid arousing jealousy and ill will, to cohere, and to achieve the comfort and security which they so desire in human relations.

APPENDIX

!Kung Bushman Artifacts

ANIMAL MATERIALS

Hides

Made and used by men

- breech clouts
- oracle disks
- head-dresses (a few, worn in dances)
- caps (a few)

Made by men, used by women

- genital aprons
- small karosses worn around buttocks or for carrying babies

Made by men, used by all

- karosses
- bags (sewn)
- bags of whole skins
- tobacco pouches of scrota
- bracelets, armbands, knee and ankle bands
- necklaces
- thongs

Cocoons

Made by men

- dance rattles

Bone

Made and used by men

- connecting parts for arrow-shafts
- arrow-points (few)
- dishes for mixing poison

Made and used by women

- fresh bone, pounded to powder, is used to clean and soften karosses

Birds' Nests

Used by men and women

- tobacco pouches (nests of the penduline tit, *Anthoscopus minutus*)

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

SINEWS

Made and used by men

bow-strings
wrappings for arrow-shafts (the poison adheres well to sinew)
binding for hafts
snares

Made by men, used by all

strings for *//gwashi* (musical instrument)

Made by men or women

fine rolled cord

HORN

Made and used by men

horns fitted with leather covers for carrying arrow-points
horns for cupping

Used by all

horns for pipes
horns for spoons

SHELL

Made by men, used by all

ostrich egg-shell water-containers
tortoise-shell dippers
tortoise-shell containers

Made by women

ostrich egg-shell beads

FEATHERS

Used by boys on *jani* toys
Worn by all occasionally in hair

VEGETABLE MATERIALS

WOOD

Made and used by men

bows
spear handles
axe or adze handles
knife handles
knife sheaths
spring-hare hook handles[1]
fire-making sticks
hatchet bow (musical instrument) (few)

Made by men, used by all

digging sticks
carrying sticks
stirring sticks
mortars and pestles
bowls
spoons
fire scrapers
//gwashi (musical instrument)
one-stringed violin
jani toys
beads

Made by women

frames for scherms

FIBRES

(from *sansevieria*, aloe, */nua* tree roots, other roots)

Rolled by men and women

cord

Made and used by men

carrying-nets
snares

Made and used by all

ornaments

GRASS

Made by men and women

stoppers for ostrich egg-shell water-containers
ornaments

Made by women

scherms

Made by children

toys of grass folded and woven to suggest animals

Used by all for beds

[1] Bushmen use sticks 12 to 15 feet long made of flexible rods in 3 or 4 sections, with a hook fastened to the end, to hook spring-hares which live in deep burrows. They seldom succeed but keep on trying. They carry only the hook around with them and whenever they need a handle they make a new one.

174
439 The interior !Kung have had trading relations with Bantu
[411] peoples on their periphery for over eighty years. The evidence
[415] for this is the presence of iron-tipped weapons, pottery and
[276] tobacco. The present-day !Kung have no knowledge of iron-working or pottery-making and they do not raise tobacco. The old people state that their grandfathers had these things
[173] before the first non-Bushmen came to the interior. Men in
[411] their 60's and 70's today can remember their grandfathers telling them that they began hunting with bone arrows and did not obtain iron for arrows until they were well into adult
[411] life. The making of bone arrow heads is still common know-
[321] ledge today but, as there is an abundant supply of iron fencing
[325] wire, none of the men hunt with bone. The art of chipping
[178] flint is not known in the Dobe area. It is probable that
[324] these Bantu goods (and also some European goods such as beads and buttons) reached the interior through Bushman trading intermediaries some years before the arrival of the first Bantu and Europeans.

173 Early contacts, 1879-1925 - There is disagreement among the !Kung about whether the Europeans or the Bantu were the first to penetrate the interior. Apparently the first pene-
175 trations occurred during the period 1875-1890. Hendrik Van
648 Zyl, a professional hunter, is the first European known to have reached the interior (Silberbauer 1965:114-115). In the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 56/67]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

that among the Bushmen all game is shared out among the members of the band. To what extent the same elaborate rules of division exist in the other tribes is difficult to determine. The only other indication of similar practices is found in the texts obtained by Bleek and Miss Lloyd from the Cape Bushmen. Only a selection of these have so far been published, and the information contained in them is rather fragmentary. But it appears that women, for example, were not permitted to eat the meat of the shoulder blades, lest the men subsequently prove unsuccessful in hunting; that the man who shot the animal might not take part in cutting it up; and the bones which were left over had to be carefully put aside in certain special ways.[1] Obviously such usages hint at an elaborate procedure in regard to the cutting up, distribution, and treatment of the meat; and one can only regret that all the details relating to them have not yet been made available.

Narcotics

As narcotics the Bushmen use chiefly tobacco and dagga (*Cannabis sativa*), the latter a herb with marked intoxicating effects. All grown-up people, and even small children, smoke tobacco when they can get it. They do not cultivate it themselves, although a few men among the Auen and the Naron are said to have made slight efforts to grow tobacco and dagga after the manner of their Bantu and Bergdama neighbours.[2] Almost all the tobacco used by the Bushmen is imported through trade or obtained by service with other peoples, and they are always extremely keen to acquire it.

In the north-west their pipes (Plate XI) are generally tubes of serpentine, some 3 inches long and rather wider at one end than at the other, which are cut and hollowed out with the iron spear point or with a knife, or even with a small stone drill. The hollow shin bones of small buck are also sometimes used, but nowadays the most prevalent form of pipe is an empty cartridge-case! Pipes consisting of an antelope horn were largely used by the Cape Bushmen. Near the point of the horn was made a hole, into which was inserted a reed tube, and on top of this was fitted an elongated clay bowl to hold the tobacco. When these pipes were used, some water was put into the horn, the mouth applied to the large orifice of the horn, and the

[1] Lloyd, *Further Bushman Material Collected*, 15; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 271 sqq.
[2] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 18; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148–9.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

372 decorated with burned lines) on which meat is roasted, and scoops
[412] for hoeing out the earth loosened with the digging-stick. The North-
[415] western tribes also manufacture wooden cooking pots (sometimes decorated with burned patterns of simple design), calabashes for holding fat and other liquids, eating vessels and spoons, as well as pestles and mortars, the latter often provided with a stone bottom,
[283] which are used for pounding up dried berries, etc. Wood fibre is twisted into cord, from which they prepare their snares and sometimes their bow-strings and make nets for carrying their belongings.

824 Reeds provide them with arrow-shafts and with the tubes for
285 sucking up water, as well as with the material from which they make
[412] their fish-traps and weave closely-stranded mats for sifting ants' eggs. Reed mats are also occasionally used in the building of their huts.

237 Ostrich egg-shells are converted into bottles for holding water,
[415] and are also broken up into very small pieces from which the women
[306] make their beads. Tortoise-shells are used as spoons and scoops, and are also made into powder boxes for containing *buchu*. Small
412 drills are made of stone for the manufacture of ostrich egg-shell
324 beads, larger ones for the manufacture of serpentine pipes; two or
[439] three stones are also used as anvils for working the iron obtained by
[326] barter, or for the purpose of grinding berries, and besides these a few smaller stones are to be seen used for hammer stones or rubbing stones.
178 The other types of stone implements, which link up the Bushmen with
324 the prehistoric cultures of South Africa, are now almost certainly no
[323] longer made; nor, too, are the crude pots of clay formerly used by the Cape Bushmen.

281 From the skins of animals killed in the chase, again, are made karosses, loin cloths, sandals, caps, leather bags, quivers, tobacco pouches, etc. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing the shafts of the bows and arrows, and as thread for sewing skins, while in some cases it also provides the string for the nets in which
321 personal belongings are carried. The long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game are used for making the foreshafts and points of arrows, while other bones are made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. Horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-points during the rainy season, implements for
[237] stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc., while
[415] the stomach of large animals, when not required for food, is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water.